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THE LANDEVENNEC GOSPELS

A Breton Illuminated Manuscript of the Ninth Century

By C. R. Morey
Research Professor in Art and Archaeology
Princeton University

NEW YORK
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1929

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1.

CHRIST IN MAJESTY AND THE SYMBOLS OF THE EVANGELISTS

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form p266 [ix-12-29 5c]

pdestinata potuit electio. utnec hic inope uerbi pderet quod
prius meruerat ingenere. Nā alexandriae epūs fuit. cuius p
singula opus scire euangelii inse dicta disponere. & displi
nam inse legis agnoscere. ecthumanam incarne dñi naturam
intelligere. quae innos primum oportet requiri. Dehinc
inquisita. uolumus agnosci. habentes mercedem exhortati
onis. qūn qui plantat equiparat unum sunt. qui autem ī
crementum pstat dī est;

EXPLICT PRAEFATIO

INCIPIT EVANGL SCD MARC

2.

THE LION OF ST. MARK

3.

THE OX OF ST. LUKE

THE LANDEVENNEC GOSPELS

A BRETON ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE NINTH CENTURY

Presented by EDWARD S. HARKNESS, Esq.
To The New York Public Library

By C. R. Morey
Research Professor in Art and Archaeology, Princeton University

THE manuscript recently presented to The New York Public Library by Mr. Harkness is destined to occupy an important place among illuminated gospel-books, and among the monuments by which are traced the obscure history of style in the art of the earlier Middle Ages. It is nothing less than the single considerable example of Breton illumination in the ninth century so far known; its painted miniatures, initials, and canon-pages reflect in noteworthy manner the half-Celtic, half-Frankish culture which flourished in the bleak monasteries of the sea-coast of *Brittania Minor* in the Carolingian period.

The volume was bought in 1926 from Mr. FitzRoy Fenwick, grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps, by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, from whom Mr. Harkness secured it. It was recorded as number 4558 in the Phillipps collection, to which it came from the firm of Payne. Before that it had belonged to the Marquis of Blandford, the fifth Duke of Marlborough, being sold as lot number 1381 in his sale at London in June, 1819, of the "White Knights Library," where it brought seven guineas and where it was described as "Evangelia Quatuor Latine. A manuscript upon vellum which appears by the initial letters, &c., to have been written about the 10th century. The figures intended to represent the four Evangelists are drawn in the most grotesque and ludicrous stile imaginable, and are evidently of very great antiquity. From the Monastery of Como, bound in purple velvet."

The work appears as number 109 in Gregory's list of Vulgate Codices. Quarto in format, measuring 200 × 128 mm., the codex contains 152 folios of rather coarse parchment, with the text of the four Gospels, the prefaces of St. Jerome, twelve pages of canon-tables (tables in which are listed the parallel passages of the Gospels), a *comes* or calendar of readings from the Gospels throughout the year, illuminated initials, and four miniatures without stylistic parallel in mediaeval art. Of these, three represent the symbolic beasts of the evangelists Mark,

Luke, and John as human figures, winged, with the heads of the Lion, Ox, and Eagle; the fourth miniature is the Breton version of a *Majestas Domini* — a figure of Christ surrounded by medallions containing the symbolic creatures mentioned above, but this time wingless, and with the addition of the man who stands for Matthew.

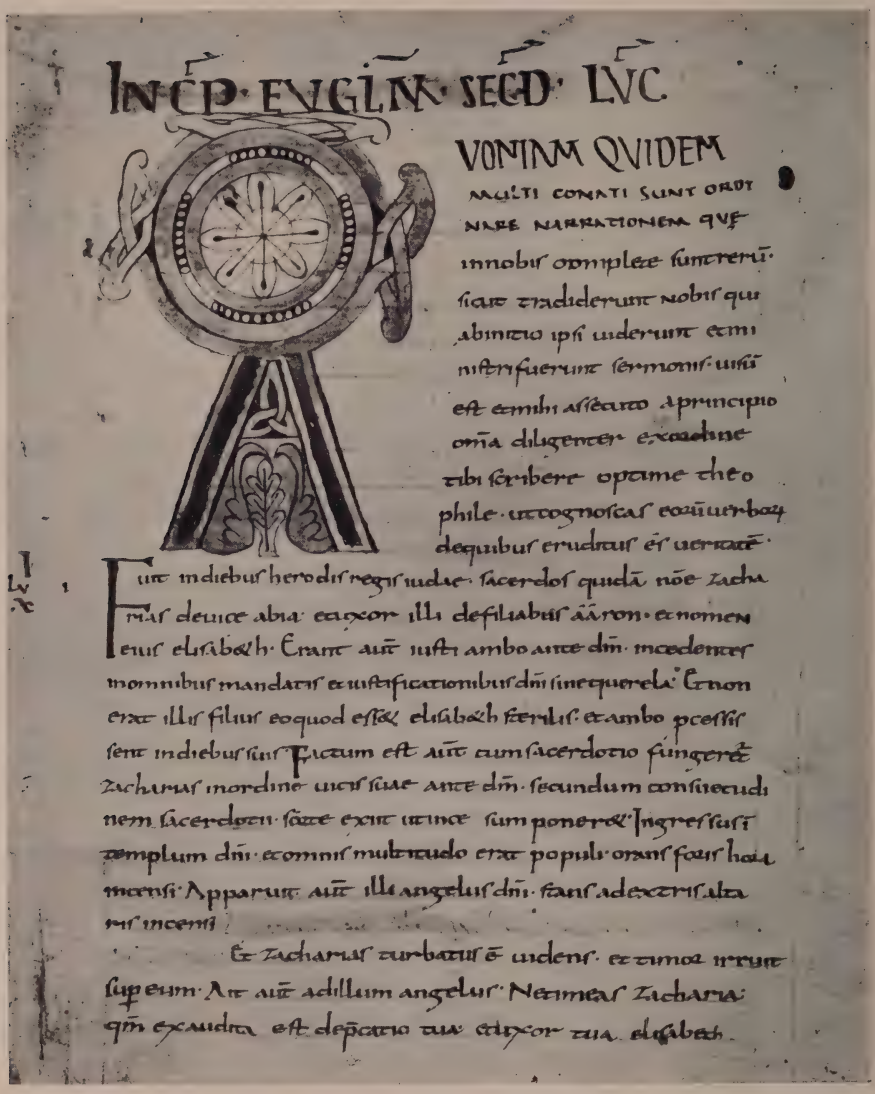
These miniatures, reflecting in singular fashion that reduction of style to very meagre terms which characterizes the art of the cultural backwaters of Europe before the Romanesque revival, have much in their innocence of naturalism, their schematic drawing, their evident fondness for strong and primary colors — that reminds one of the illuminated Gospel-books and Psalters executed in the Celtic monasteries of Ireland, Scotland, England, and Wales, from the seventh to the eleventh century, whose rich ornamental repertory included also the interlace that is the most conspicuous motif in the borders of the miniatures of our manuscript. The frames of the canon-tables are however conceived in more continental fashion and they display a use of foliate designs and a crude effort after naturalism in the drawing of their frequent birds and animals that is quite foreign to Irish art, prone as it is to squeeze out all semblance of animate life in the interest of pure design. The illumination thus points to a locality not of the islands but on the continent; strongly influenced by Irish culture but nevertheless not within its immediate periphery.

The dating and placing of such a stylistic mixture offered a pretty problem. In order to arrive at a sound conclusion the work on the script and on the miniatures was kept separate. Photographs of six pages of the text, but of none of the pictures, were sent to Professor E. K. Rand, of Harvard, being selected to represent the beginning, middle, and termination of the manuscript. Professor Rand was asked to give an opinion as to (1) whether the style of writing indicated any wide difference in date between the three portions; (2) what date should be assigned each of these portions; and (3) where the manuscript was written. His reply follows:

> "Here are my first impressions. The three parts of the New Testament were written by the same hand, or at least by very similar hands, in the same monastery and at the same time. The general period is the latter half of the ninth century, and the place of writing was in the north or north center of France. As I turned over the photographs of the *capitula,* I noticed at least one interesting touch of Irish tendencies. The scribe himself was not an Irishman or an Englishman but he wrote in a monastery somewhat affected by Insular influence."

4.

THE EAGLE OF ST. JOHN


INCP EVGLIVM SEGD LVC
VONIAM QVIDEM
MVLTI CONATI SVNT ORDI
NARE NARRATIONEM QVE
innobis ompleze sumterun
siait tradiderunt nobis qui
abinitio ipsi uiderunt etmi
nistri fuerunt sermonis uisu
est etmihi assecuto aprincipio
oia diligenter exordine
tibi scribere optime theo
phile ut cognoscas eoiu uerbo
dequibus eruditus es ueritate
Fuit in diebus herodis regis iudee sacerdos quida noe zacha
rias de uice abia et uxor illi de filiabus aaron et nomen
eius elisabeth Erant aut iusti ambo ante dm incedentes
in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus dni sine querela Et non
erat illis filius eoquod esset elisabeth sterilis et ambo pces
sissent in diebus suis Factum est aut cum sacerdotio fungere
zacharias in ordine uicis suae ante dm secundum consuetudi
nem sacerdotii sortae exiit ut incensum ponerets Ingressus
templum dni et omnis multitudo erat populi orans foris hora
incensi Apparuit aut illi angelus dni stans adexterisalta
ris incensi
Et zacharias turbatus e uidens et timor irruit
sup eum At aut adillum angelus Ne timeas zacharia
qm exaudita est deprcatio tua et uxor tua elisabeth

5.

INITIAL Q OF LUKE'S GOSPEL

This opinion, later confirmed by an examination of the manuscript itself, has been beautifully borne out by an analysis of the *Comes,* the calendar of Gospel-readings which occupies the last sixteen pages. For in running through the list of saints commemorated in this calendar — a list for the most part conventional enough and repeating the traditional calendar of Rome — one is struck by finding the name of St. Samson, bishop of Dol in Brittany, who is a stranger to the ecclesiastical calendars until he was incorporated in the official list by Usuard, who composed his *martyrologium,* the basis of the present Roman Catholic calendar, in the last quarter of the ninth century. It is true that in a metrical martyrology of the eighth century he is celebrated on the 28th of July as in our calendar, but this piece was an insular composition probably meant for English use at York or Ripon, and does not therefore reflect continental usage. One reason for St. Samson's late appearance in the orthodox Roman calendar was the refusal of the Breton church to acknowledge the sovereignty of Tours as its metropolitan see. In the middle of the ninth century, Nominoe, lord of Brittany, sought indeed to make Dol the archiepiscopal see of all Brittany. In spite of denunciations of this stiff-necked attitude of the Breton church by the councils of Toul in 859 and of Reims in 1049, the local priesthood stood out for independence until the twelfth century, when the "archbishopric" of Dol was degraded to the rank of a suffragan see.

The fact that Nantes, Vannes, and Rennes, in the eastern part of the province, acknowledged the claim of Tours, is significant of the ethnic composition of this corner of mediaeval France, which is not without its bearing on the miniatures of the Harkness manuscript. Western Brittany was settled in the fifth and sixth centuries by Celtic fugitives from the Saxon invasion of England, a settlement which pushed the Gallo-Roman population into the towns of the eastern section, of which Nantes, Vannes, and Rennes were the chief. The result was a wide difference between the Latinized population of Upper Brittany and the British emigrés of Léon, Cornouaille, and Domnonie.

These last names are in fact indicative of the character of complete cultural migration which was assumed by this re-peopling of the peninsula. Léon repeats the Welsh Caerleon and is the Lyonesse of Arthurian legend; Cornwall is perpetuated in Cornouaille, and the northern Breton county of Domnonie preserves the old name of Devon. The Britons who came across the Channel to find refuge from Saxon attacks did not sever their connection with their Celtic brethren in Cornwall, Devon, and Wales; above all did they retain the usages of the ancient British church — its peculiar tonsure which shaved the whole forward portion of the head, its different calculation of Easter, the marriage of its clergy, its

liturgical idiosyncrasies, and the tribal organization of the church. The Celtic church was primarily monastic, not episcopal; its bishops were appointees and suffragans of a ruling abbot. An abbot in turn was commonly a tribal chieftain; the usual history of the foundation of a monastery records the cession by the head of the tribe of a tract of land to one of his relatives who had embraced the religious life, wherein he could found a monastic settlement and a church, subject politically to the authority of the chief, but otherwise ruling his *lann,* or sacred precinct, and the population thereof, as a tribal leader. Such abbots were the "saints" of Celtic legend, though the use of the word in Celtic lands connoted no more than "religieux" in French. It was long before such Celtic "saints" forsook the ordinary pursuits of a clan-leader; some notion of the peculiar quality of such a monastic establishment may be gathered from the famous battle of 672 between the monasteries of Clonmacnois and Durrow in Ireland in which fell Dermot Duff and two hundred of his men from the monastery of Durrow.

Among the early British settlers in Domnonie was Fragan (Brychan), from Gwent (Monmouthshire) in Wales, who with his wife Gwen and their sons arrived in the bay of St.-Brieuc about 460 and settled near the river Gouet. There he founded his *plou* or commune, remaining to-day as the village of Ploufragan. A son was born to Fragan after his migration, and named Winwaloe; to him fell the function of the tribal "saint." He was first placed in the care of St. Budoc, in his monastery on the isle of Laurée. Here, the legend places his first miracles, among them the spiritual visit paid him (in a vision) by St. Patrick of Ireland. Budoc, impressed by the vision, gave him eleven of his monks and sent him forth to found a monastery, which he finally did, on the coast of the roads of Brest, and which bore the name of Landevennec — explained by M. Loth as actually equivalent to "monastery of Wenn," the latter name being the abbreviated form of Winwaloe. Here the saint performed more prodigies, and died at last in the arms of his monks before the altar where he had just finished the celebration of the mass. His death occurred most probably in 532.

Our interest in St. Winwaloe arises from the fact that the religious community for which our Gospel-book was written must have been under his patronage, since his name occurs no less than three times in its calendar. His death is commemorated on March 3d, the translation of his body on April 28th, and on May 13th we find the feast of the dedication of his church. It is true that Winwaloe, obscure saint though he seems to be on first acquaintance, enjoyed a fairly widespread veneration. In Brittany itself he is honored at Concarneau, Croisic, Ile-de-Sein, Locguenolé, and Pierric, to say nothing of the chapels and honors accorded him in churches at other places. His anniversary is celebrated by the church of

Quimper on April 28th, the day of his translation in our calendar. A church and a parish of the diocese of Quimper bear his name; at Penmarch it is attached to the ruins of a church. A priory dependent on Marmoutier, at Château-du-Loir, was dedicated to St. Guingaloé (one of the numerous spellings of the name), and shows that his cult had penetrated to Tours. A martyrology in the Vatican Library (lat. 4885), which according to Quentin was composed in Maine, c. 1000, honors the saint on April 28th, showing the spread of his veneration into the province adjacent to Brittany on the east. The martyrology of Saint-Riquier in Picardy also commemorates the translation on April 28th, and the *natalis* of March 3d as well.

The raids of the Normans in the ninth and tenth centuries, during one of which early in the tenth century the monastery of Landevennec was destroyed, are said in various sources to have caused the dispersion of his relics; relics of the saint are claimed for the monastery of Blandinberg near Ghent, where the *translatio* appears under the date of August 1st. At Montreuil-sur-Mer in Picardy, the presence of the body of St. Winwaloe is asserted in a document of A. D. 1000 and another of 879, together with a *recognitio* of the relics in 1495. A church is dedicated to him at Montreuil under the name of Saint-Waloy, and here also he is commemorated by three feasts, on March 3d, April 28th, and the third Sunday in July. His cult seems to have been widespread, in the early times when Brittany and Celtic England were culturally one, in Cornwall.

Another Landevennec, in the modern form of Landevednack, is to be found in Cornwall, a parish of the deanery of Kerier in the diocese of Exeter. Towednack, another Cornish parish, derives its name from Winwaloe according to Loth, and both the above parishes acknowledged him as their patron. Another parish bears the name Gunwallow, an obvious parallel to the French name for the saint, Guenolé. Baring-Gould is authority for the further information that Winwaloe was the patron of Tremaine, Tresmere, and of a chapel at Cradock, in St. Cleer; according to the same writer his feast at Gunwallow is on the last Sunday in April, and a further dedication to him may be found in the parish church of Portlemouth in Devonshire which bears the name of St. Onolaus. The Monasticon Anglicanum records a relic of the saint (a bone), at Glastonbury, apparently the *reliquiae* of the saint which appears in the list of relics recorded by an eleventh-century hand in the Leofric missal.

Such a multiplicity of centers of his cult is bewildering at first sight, but it will be noted that nowhere among them all, even in cases such as that of Montreuil where three feasts of Winwaloe are celebrated, do we find the significant anniversary of our calendar, of the *dedicatio basilicae* of May 13th, sure sign

of a local cult. The basilica was Winwaloe's church at Landevennec. One of the *Lives* of the saint published in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists (March, I, p. 254) tells us of it: "sepultusque est in ecclesia lignea, quam ipse laudabili opere jusserat fabricari. Cuius nunc ossa cum magno honore deportata, in maiori ecclesia continentur." This "maior ecclesia" is now in ruins; at the beginning of the last century Winwaloe's tomb was still to be seen in it. The translation celebrated in our calendar, and at Quimper, Montreuil, and in the martyrology of Saint-Riquier on April 28th, refers to the moving of the saint's body from the old wooden church into the new one.

The feast of the 13th of May is therefore a local celebration of Winwaloe's own foundation at Landevennec; it is to be noted that at Montreuil-sur-Mer, the only other place that might claim to be the source of our manuscript, no festival of the kind is found. We have then a manuscript written and illuminated at the abbey of Landevennec in Lower Brittany.

The date of its production may be ascertained also from the calendar. There are obvious *termini a quo* which are too early to be of much help; such is the *Dedicatio ecclesie Sancte Marie ad martyres* of May 13th, which refers to the transformation of the Pantheon at Rome into a Christian church by Boniface IV under the above title in 611; and the "translation of St. Benedict" of July 11, which commemorates the bringing of Benedict's body to the abbey of Fleury (St. Benoît-sur-Loire) in the middle of the seventh century. On November 1st we find the Feast of All-Saints, which according to the evidence of Ado was popularized in Gaul by Louis the Pious in the first half of the ninth century and certainly does not appear in Gallican sacramentaries before 850. The Benedictine entries — the *natalis* of St. Benedict on March 21st and the above-mentioned *translatio* — are to be associated with a letter of Louis the Pious directed to the abbot of Landevennec in 818, which ordered the monks thereof to reform their tonsure and their rule in accordance with Roman usage and the *regula* of St. Benedict.

We thus arrive at a *terminus a quo* of the first half of the ninth century for the dating of the calendar — and of the manuscript as a whole, in view of Professor Rand's opinion of the unity of date of the calendar with the rest of the codex. Professor Rand has since confirmed this conclusion by observing that the ruling of the pages toward the end of the Gospel-text is increased in order to provide space in this quire for the calendar, from which it is evident that the scribe of the Gospel-text had the calendar in mind, and that both texts are of the same date.

The above provides sufficient confirmation of Professor Rand's dating, based exclusively on the palaeography of the text, in the latter half of the ninth century. Further confirmation of this dating is apparent from an examination of the

6.

CANON-PAGE

7.

CANON-PAGE

8.

INITIAL OF JOHN'S GOSPEL: EVANGELIARY OF THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS

9.

CHRIST IN MAJESTY AND THE SYMBOLS OF THE EVANGELISTS: GOSPELS OF GUNDOHINUS, AUTUN

lessons, or readings from the Gospels, which are listed for each day in the Calendar, but this evidence is too extensive to be treated here; it will be set forth in the extended publication of the manuscript that will appear in the next volume of "Art Studies; Medieval, Renaissance and Modern."

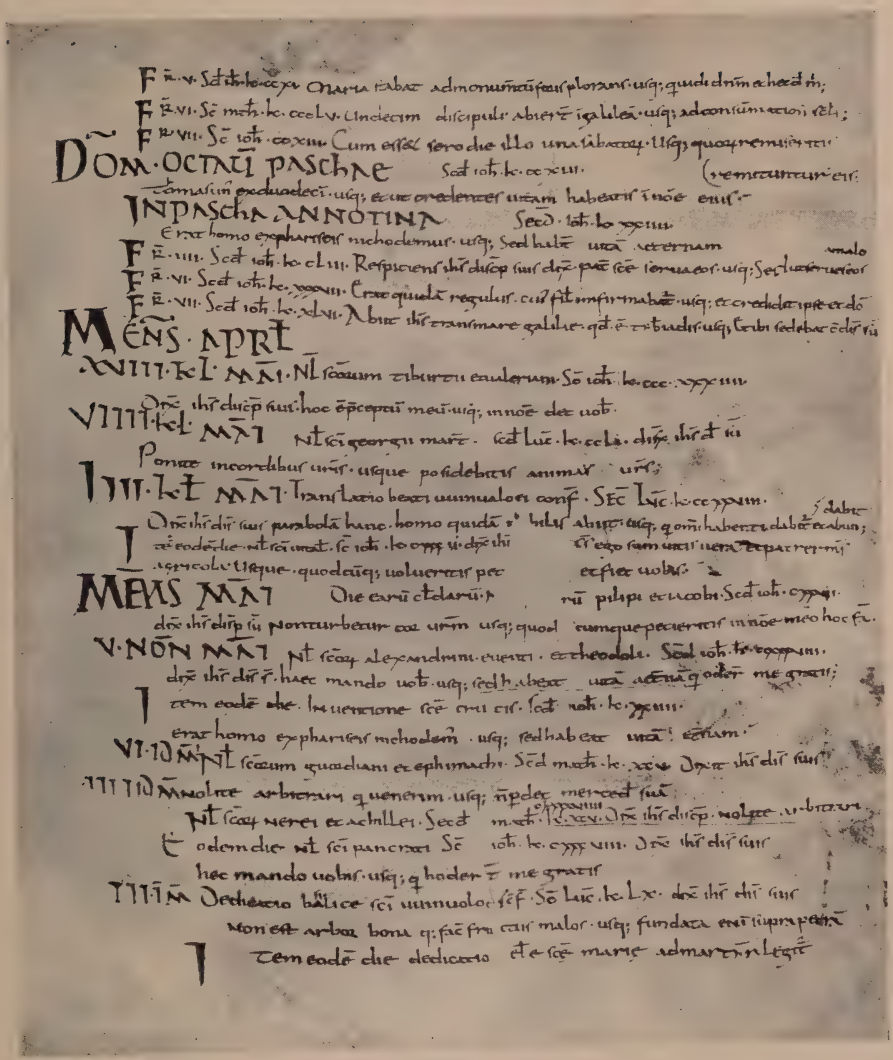
There can be no question that the miniatures are all of the same date. This statement is prompted by the suggestion that has been made, that the frontispiece with Christ and the four symbolic beasts may be a later addition imitative of the pages depicting the symbols of Mark, Luke, and John, which are integral parts of Quires VII, X, and XV. The suggestion acquires superficial weight from the fact that the quires are numbered from the third quire on, the third quire bearing the signature I, which would indicate that the portion preceding Matthew's Gospel and including the frontispiece and the canon-tables, was an after-thought. The numbering of quires is however dependent at times on the distribution of them to scribes in the process of copying; the scribe that received the task of copying the text may have numbered his quires without reference to the prefatory matter, and commenced with I. Certainly the colors of the frontispiece, of the canon-tables, and of the symbols preceding the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John, are identical, and the same identity exists as regards the style and technique of the paintings.

These paintings are a singular example of the decay of style in the "dark ages." In spite of their date, they belong stylistically with the work of the Merovingian age, having little trace of the new ideas introduced by the Carolingian renaissance. The reduction of style to such primitive terms makes one think of Pliny the Elder's convenient phrase when he arrived at a point in his account of Greek sculpture and painting where his sources failed him: *cessavit ars!*

The geometric drawing and crude presentment of animate forms reminds one of Irish work. But for a moment only: Irish drawing is devoid of any tradition of antique naturalism, and reduces nature *a priori* to the requirements of decorative pattern that maintains its ascendancy over naturalism even in late and inferior Celtic work (cf. the rendering of the overthrow of Goliath by David in the Cambridge Psalter of the tenth century). Our Breton artist has enough of the Celtic in him to be devoid of any training in the imitation of nature; but the models that he has copied were Merovingian examples of decadent Latin style, and his effort was to compass as best he could the remnant of naturalism that he found in them. Irish design, within its limitations, has a clean-cut definition, a sureness of purpose, a power of involution, wholly lacking in our miniatures, wherein the figure is reduced to geometric formulae for lack of ability to do otherwise, and the ornament has the unfailing sign of primitive style in the large scale and the simplicity in which its motifs are conceived.

The frontispiece is a familiar conception to mediaeval iconographers. It is not at all of Celtic origin, but took its rise in the Christian East as a rendition of the Vision of Ezechiel which later became the popular form of the Christ of the Ascension. From the Ascension, the Christ in the circular glory surrounded by the symbolic Beasts was extracted to form the Majestas-type of the Saviour in glory. In this form, with the addition of the figures of the four evangelists whom the Beasts were supposed to signify, and two angels attending the enthroned Christ, the type appears in the Codex Amiatinus, a manuscript written and illustrated in the eighth century in the Northumbrian monastery of Wearmouth. But the English illuminator was in this case copying a miniature of a manuscript which had been brought to England from Italy, where it originally belonged to Cassiodorus' monastery in Calabria, so that the type is doubtless of Italian origin. So also was the practice of framing the busts of the symbolic beasts in medallions, although the earliest extant examples of this are to be assigned to southern Gaul. We find a Christ in Majesty in a circular glory with the busts of the Beasts in medallions around it in a manuscript of the library of Monte Cassino, executed in Capua in the first half of the tenth century, and showing the persistence of the type in the country of its origin. In France it first appears in a miniature of the Gospel-book of Gundohinus at Autun, of the middle of the eighth century, and here it takes a form very close to that of our manuscript, save that the Beasts have not the human bodies given them in the Harkness Gospels, and the angels are still with the Saviour. On the other hand a manuscript in the library at Poitiers, dated by Beissel in the early ninth century, provides a miniature showing the enthroned Saviour with the "anthropomorphic" beasts, i. e., with human bodies. This hybrid rendering of the symbols of the Evangelists seems to have arisen in Spain or Southern France, but it was widespread in the Merovingian period.

The lay-out of our miniature is however most closely approximated by that of the Gundohinus Gospels, which Zimmermann is inclined to ascribe to Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire), the chief Benedictine monastery of central France. The ornament of this manuscript also much resembles that of our Gospels, and the crude naturalism of its figure-drawing indicates the sort of Merovingian model from which our artist may well have drawn his tenuous inspiration. This frontispiece will be the subject of special treatment by A. M. Friend in the publication of the manuscript in *Art Studies,* since he has found it of interest and value in his work on the evolution of the mediaeval representations of the evangelists. An especially curious feature of it is the repetition of the phrase *(re) surrexit Dominus,* enlarged in the case of John's eagle to *surrexit Dominus vere,* which is written



10.

PAGE FROM CALENDAR CONTAINING THE *DEDICATIO BASILICAE* OF ST. WINWALOE

on the books of the evangelists; it seems to echo the sequence of Easter Sunday in the Roman ritual: *Scimus Christum surrexisse a mortuis vere.* The same inscription reappears on the books held by the symbols of Mark, Luke, and John at the beginning of their Gospels.

Noteworthy on the border of this frontispiece are the intertwined loops which also decorate the frames of the symbols of Luke and John on folios 75 and 115 *verso.* These loops, with their effect of a voluted capital, appear in the decoration of the Anglo-Celtic Gospels of Lindisfarne, of the early eighth century, but they are mainly characteristic of the school of illumination which bears the name of Franco-Saxon, and whose style may be found throughout the ninth and tenth centuries in the less progressive scriptoria of Western France, from Belgium to the Loire, and even in Spain in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The motif is derived from such Celtic forms as those mentioned of the Gospels of Lindisfarne but it is much simplified by the Franco-Saxon artists, whose rendering of it has in turn been reduced by our artist to still lower terms. A fair parallel to the motif as by him employed is afforded by the looped interlaces projecting from the side of initial I's in an illuminated Gospel-book, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which in the ninth century was in Tours. Toward Tours point also the crudely executed ivy-leaves which form the corner-pieces of our border — the ivy-leaf in this position being very characteristic of the Carolingian illumination of Tours.

Mark's symbol, the lion, is flanked by foliate motifs that never occur in Celtic illumination. The left hand holds a leafy branch that is as hard to interpret as the similar motif in the hand of the Christ of the frontispiece, unless we suppose in the case of the lion that our artist has misunderstood a quill held by the symbol in the original miniature which he was copying. Wings are added to the beast here, and colored with that strong contrast of light and dark tones in the manner of a plaid which is frequent in the Merovingian ornament of France.

Luke's ox, painted at the beginning of his Gospel, possesses a snout that is not far removed from the beak of John's eagle and might deceive us were it not equipped with horns and labelled. The ox is winged like the lion of Mark, and both this miniature and the eagle of John have borders of identical execution with that of the frontispiece — sufficient proof of the unity in date of all these miniatures.

The initials of the manuscript have a general resemblance to those used at the monastery of Corbie in Picardy and in scriptoria under its influence; the Q which is the initial of Luke resembles the Corbie form. They are not, however, of a strictly "Corbie" type. Their leaf-work is heavier, and the filling of the L which

opens the Gospel of Matthew is an interlace of the ample sort that is used in the Gundohinus Gospels of Autun, mentioned above as affording the best parallel for the iconographic lay-out of the frontispiece. When we turn to the repertoire of ornament presented by the canon-tables, the resemblance to the Gundohinus-codex becomes more marked. The most conspicuous motif that the two manuscripts have in common is the coarse palmette found in many of our canon-tables either in the arch or on the colonnettes; it is used in the same form in the arch inclosing the figure of St. John, and in the canon-tables, of the Gundohinus Gospels. A curious feature of the ornament in the latter manuscript is a kaleidoscopic motif composed of vari-colored angular patches, apparently the degenerate form of what was originally a garland-design; one of the canon-tables of our manuscript shows a colonnette with a similar decoration. Also common to both manuscripts as a filling-motif for the shafts of the colonnettes is a heavy rope-pattern.

Such resemblances carry one not very far in the direction of determining the origin of the style of our manuscript; Merovingian ornament is at once very much alike all over France and surprisingly fertile of invention. In spite of Zimmermann's attempt to classify the Merovingian manuscripts in his *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen,* it is difficult as yet to isolate the schools with any certainty. The birds and beasts that enliven some of the canon-pages in our manuscript may in one or another of their aspects be paralleled in several of Zimmermann's groups. Nevertheless the indications above-noted seem to point to Tours, Fleury, and in general to the lower valley of the Loire as the source of the style which our transplanted Celt did his best to assimilate. The introduction of the Benedictine rule into Landevennec in the ninth century must have brought in with it new rule- and service-books; these would naturally come from the see that claimed spiritual dominion over Brittany, viz., the archbishopric of Tours. From old pre-Carolingian models produced in the neighborhood of Tours, and specifically in its chief Benedictine center at Fleury, we may well believe that our artist copied the illustrations of the Harkness Gospels.

However much a copyist, he seems to have struck at least one original and native note. Birds are the stock ornament of Merovingian art, but here they invariably hold a fish in beak or talons. If such a motif is to be found in other French manuscripts of Merovingian style, I do not know them. May we not see in this a reminiscence of the gulls of the Breton coast, a motif familiar to a race of fishermen, as we may also recognize in the meagre but sturdy style of these miniatures the attenuated culture of a hardy sea-faring folk, among whom still lives today, as nowhere else in Europe, the simple barbaric faith of early mediaeval Christianity?

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